1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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764 woman). May he become united with the men of his clan and caste."

The funeral rites of the Udayas differ in some important details from those of the Badaga sub-division. The buffalo catching, and leading the animal round the corpse, are omitted. But a steer and heifer are selected, and branded on the thigh, by means of a hot iron, with the lingam and other emblems. Bedecked with cloths and jewels, they are led to the side of the corpse, and made to stand on a blanket spread on the ground. They are treated as if they were lingams, and pūja is done to them by offering cocoanuts and betel leaves, and throwing flowers over them. Round their necks kankanams (marriage threads) are tied. They are made to turn so as to face away from the corpse, and their tails are placed in the hands thereof. An elder then proceeds with the recitation of the dead person's sins. The Udayas bury their dead in a sitting posture in a cell dug out of the side of the grave, and, like the Irulas, prefer to use a grave in which a previous burial
[824] has taken place. At the four corners of the grave they place in the ground a plant of *Leucas aspera*, and pass a cotton thread laterally and diagonally across the grave, leaving out the side opposite the cell. Two men descend into the grave, and deposit the corpse in its resting place with two lighted lamps.

• 769 493 In 1905, an elaborate Badaga memorial ceremony for ancestors called manavalai, which takes place at long intervals, was celebrated on the Nīlgiris. I gather from the notes of a Native official that an enormous car, called ēlu kudi tēru (seven-storeyed car) was built of wood and bamboo, and decorated with silk and woollen fabrics, flags, and umbrellas. Inside the ground floor were a cot with a mattress and pillow, and the stem of

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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• 769 (493) a plantain tree. The souls of the ancestors are supposed to be reclining on the cot, resting their heads on the pillow, and chewing the plantain, while the umbrellas protect them from the sun and rain. The ear ornaments of all those who have died since the previous ceremony should be placed on the cot. "A Badaga fell and hurt himself during the erection of the car. Whereupon, another Badaga became possessed, and announced that the god was angry because a Kurumba had something to do with the building of the structure. A council meeting was held, and the Kurumba fined twenty-five rupees, which were credited to the god. Sixty-nine petty bazars and three beer taverns had been opened for the convenience of all classes of people that had assembled. One very old Badaga woman said that she was twelve years old when the first European was carried in a chair by the Todas, and brought up the ghāt to the Nīlgiris from Coimbatore. On Wednesday at 10 A.M. people from the adjoining villages were announced, and the Kota band, with the village people, went forward, greeted them, and brought them to the car. As each man approached it, he removed his turban, stooped over the pillow and laid his head on it, and then went to (535) join the ring for the dance. The dancers wore skirts made of white long-cloth, white and cream silks and satins with border of red and blue trimming, frock dresses, and dressing-gowns, while the coats, blouses, and jackets were of the most gaudy colours of silk, velvet, velveteen, tweed, and home-spun. As each group of people arrived, they went first to the temple door, saluted the god, and went to the basement of the car to venerate the deceased, and then proceeded to dance for an hour, received their supplies of rice, etc., and cleared off. Thursday and Friday were the grandest

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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days. Nearly three thousand females, and six thousand males, assembled on Thursday. To crown all the confusion, there appeared nearly a thousand Badagas armed with new mamotis (spades). They came on dancing for some distance, rushed into the crowd, and danced round the car. These Badagas belonged to a gang of public works, local fund, and municipal maistries. On the last day a sheep was slaughtered in honour of the deity. The musicians throughout the festivities were Kotas and Kurumbas. The dancing of the men of three score showed that they danced to music, and the stepping was admirable, while the dancing of young men did not show that they had any idea of dancing, or either taste or knowledge of music. They were merely skipping and jumping. This shows that the old art of the Badaga dance is fast decaying." The cot is eventually burnt at the burning-ground, as if it contained a corpse.

A kind of edible truffle (*Mylitta lapidescens*) is known as little man's bread on the Nīlgiris. The Badaga legendary name for it is Pāndva-unna-buthi, or dwarf bundle of food,* *i.e.*, food of the dwarfs, who are supposed once to have inhabited the Nīlgiris and built the pāndu kūlis or kistvaens.

The story goes that Lord Elphinstone, a former Governor of Madras, was anxious to build a residence at Kaiti. But the Badagas, who had on the desired site a sacred tree, would not part with the land. The Governor's steward succeeded in making the Badaga headman drunk, and secured, for a rental of thirty-five rupees annually, the site, whereon a villa was built, which now belongs to the Basel Mission.†

* Report, Government Botanic Gardens, Nilgiris, 1903.
† E. Schmidt. Reise nach Südindien, 1894.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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615 villages, however, the Kurumba watchman has these duties.[19] It is recorded that in the nineteenth century they were also 'weaving a kind of sackcloth',[20] but today neither they nor anyone else can recall this activity.

(627) (623) Alone of all phratries the Toreas are under a slight disadvantage in the Badaga judicial system. In villages where other Badagas also live they may find that, while being permitted to bring cases to the village or commune council and to sit through its deliberations, they must not take part in the discussion that leads (622) up to the headman's decision. A Torea village headman who is excluded from a meeting of the commune council may not complain about such demeaning treatment in the way that any (619) other headman in the commune undoubtedly would. The depressed status of Toreas is symbolized by the fact that during the great memorial ceremonies for a deceased generation *(Manemale)* the Toreas have a separate, smaller catafalque beside the main one.

615 628 Many of the twenty-six Torea villages are adjuncts to Gauda villages, set off from them by a mere stone's throw; but a group of nine Torea villages on the eastern edge of the plateau are so isolated that their only close contact is with the Wodeas of De:na:du.

615 614 621 Toreas have two clans, and in many villages both are represented. Despite the well-known precedents in other phratries, they have not begun to marry non-Toreas.

The Toreas can be offered vegetarian food in the houses of all higher phratries and meat in those which habitually eat it 615 themselves. Recently some Gaudas have interdined with Toreas on 264 an equal footing, in their inner rooms, although traditionally none of the other groups would allow Toreas into the inner, more sacred room; they were expected to eat in the outer one. 'If they should eat food with other Badagas, the Toreyas must clear away all remnants of the feast—nobody else will help' (Benbow, 1930, 11). No other phratry, not even the Christians, will accept food in the house of a Torea (Tignous, 1911, 117). In terms of the commensality rules pertaining elsewhere in India the Toreas may therefore have the appearance of a low or untouchable caste; and it is true that, Christians apart, they are the lowest of the Badaga phratries. 609 There is nevertheless a Badaga rule that 'foreigners' and plainsmen may not enter the inner room of any Badaga house: they may be offered food only on the veranda or in the outer room. Badaga

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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If the deceased was a vegetarian male of the Lingayat sect a small hoe is brought instead, and this has to be used for the first strokes in digging the grave.[11] This hoe is carried anticlockwise once around the catafalque on the head of a near male relative of the deceased and is then kept underneath the corpse with other presents.[12] If the deceased were a woman the Kota partner will bring two toe-rings, one for each second toe of the corpse. In the last century the Kotas also provided a dead woman with a pounding-stick (Metz, 1864, 77); today a rough one is made by her relatives instead.

The Kota partner is often requested to supply a band of musicians for a Badaga wedding if this is to be a public one. (Many weddings are held privately, 'within the family circle', to save expenses; in which case the Kota may still come, but without musicians.) At a large-scale marriage their services may be required for several days; but while the attendance of Kotas at a funeral is imperative, it is for the groom's family to decide whether to have them at his wedding. The Kota partner may also be invited to a naming or an ear-piercing ceremony and should certainly be asked to a bull-castration.

In the early years of this century the Kota man would receive from his Badaga partner a total of two rupees or its equivalent for each day the band played at any ceremony. It is now common for less than a complete band of eight musicians to attend; but each bandsman is fed and receives five rupees a day, even more if the donor is wealthy. The Kota partner, however, gets nothing for the gifts that he must bring to a funeral.

In each commune the Badagas are supposed to hold a massive memorial ceremony whenever one generation level has altogether died out, or else when sixty years have elapsed since the previous ceremony. These events begin on a Sunday and last for eight days, during which many thousands of Badagas from all over the plateau may attend. On these rare occasions the Badaga headman informs the headman of at least the nearest Kota village (indeed, he has to seek that Kota's permission), and he arranges for all the men and boys of that village to play music at the ceremony. For this purpose the Kotas divide themselves into numerous bands of eight men each and thus the dance music can be kept going day and night for the entire period, with several of the groups playing simultaneously. At the end of the ceremony these Kotas all lead the memorial procession to the cremation ground, where a cot is

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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incinerated along with sticks representing every member of the deceased generation. The Kotas are fed by the commune for the duration of the ceremony; after their performance each participating Kota village is given one male buffalo, and a measure of rice or other grain is given each player. All of these expenses, together with the cost of entertaining the Badaga visitors and erecting the great catafalque, are borne in common by a standard levy on each Badaga household.[13]

Kota Ceremonies

Just as the presence of Kotas at these Badaga rituals is obligatory, so are there Kota rituals that require Badaga attendance.

When there is a death in the family of a Kota, his various Badaga partners should come to the funeral with some male relatives and friends. Yet while these Badagas are expected to attend they actually play no part in the ritual: they must simply put in an appearance and make a gift to indicate their sympathy for the bereaved family. If a Badaga is rich this gift will be a male buffalo to be killed during the funeral; if poor he will give five or ten rupees, or the equivalent in grain (Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 85). The Badaga men pay no formal respects to the corpse; and they stay neither for the ceremonies nor for the exciting buffalo sacrifice. Usually they are offered tobacco or cigars by the Kotas but cannot accept food.

Badagas are also expected to attend the Kambattaraya festival every January in the villages of their Kota partners (Breeks, 1873, 44; Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 14–17). Some days prior to this the Kotas will already have received their annual gift, which commonly includes new clothes for the festival and sometimes a temporary loan of jewellery. When the Badaga men go to a Kota village on this occasion they are accompanied by some of their female relatives. On arriving a Badaga party will halt just outside the village until the Kotas come with their musicians to escort them in. Again, the Badagas are not there to take any part in the ritual itself; but once this has been completed the visitors are expected to dance and generally enjoy themselves. After a few hours of this the Badagas return home, for they could not pollute themselves by accepting the food of Kotas (Metz, 1864, 130–131).

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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crucial part is played by either community in the ceremonies of the other. A Badaga partner and his family or friends will often be invited to the naming, wedding or funeral of a Toda. The Badagas at these times eat Toda food provided it has been prepared in a separate pot.[14] Similarly Badagas may invite their Toda partners and friends to weddings, funerals and certain of the annual festivals, to most of which the Todas are required to bring some useful present. On these occasions the visiting Todas or Badagas should be fed, and it is also appropriate for the hosts to make small gifts; yet gift exchange is not requisite to all ceremonies.

The Toda, like the Kota, has an obligation to visit the married daughter of each Badaga partner once in a lifetime. He sends word of his intention; then comes and presents her with a buffalo heifer or perhaps something even more valuable. In return she gives him a cloak and possibly some other clothing.

Once a year each Badaga village holds a ceremony at which the cattle are given salty water. The Toda or Todas who are the associates of men in that village are invited on this occasion to take whatever salt is left over from the ceremony (Hockings, 1968c, 414).

All Todas from nearby hamlets are invited to attend the great memorial festival in which Badagas honour one generation of their dead; indeed it cannot take place without permission from some Todas of the neighbourhood. These local men bring cane to use in the catafalque and are offered Re. 1.25 in return. A Toda associated with the Badaga village may opt for the special duty of sitting at the major entrance and receiving each group of visitors. He asks every group if they include any important man—one carrying some administrative portfolio or a member of the gentry.[15] If there is such a man in the group the Toda tells them all to wait while he brings the commune headman to welcome them. Otherwise he conducts the visitors to the street where a great catafalque has been erected. The Toda is fed while he performs this service, and afterwards he gets a gift. Todas may have had a similar role during the funerals of the Badaga divisional headmen. Their main duty seems to have been policing the vast crowds that used to attend those ceremonies (Lütze, 1887, 14; see Plates 13–14).

As was mentioned earlier,

> At the present time [1902], the amount of grain supplied by the Badagas is not sufficient for the needs of the Todas, and both

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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The Kurumba watchman may still play a necessary role in the ritual of his Badaga commune; but Badagas have no part whatever in Kurumba ritual. The sowing and harvest festivals in which the Kurumba must participate are the two most important in the annual cycle. In the former he must make certain ritual utterances and cut the first furrows with a plough—today with a mere ploughshare—at an early morning ceremony in January, and then he must sow the first seeds. In the harvest festival, which falls in July, he must sacrifice a buffalo calf early one morning in a Badaga's field. Two days later he leads a procession of Badagas to their temple where he assists the priest with preparations for the ritual. Then two days after this he must make a wreath of millet sheaves, attach it to a stone archh (representing a temple gateway) and then reap the first grain of the harvest. Kurumbas now claim it was they who initially taught the ancient Badagas about these two ceremonies. During the memorial ceremony for a generation that has passed away, the commune Kurumba also has an active part. On the second day (a Monday) he brings a bamboo ladder to use in building the catafalque, and he also cuts the first bamboo pole to be used in this construction. On the following Sunday and Monday he sacrifices two goats. His role throughout all of these ceremonies is that of an accessory priest, and for this he receives some fifteen rupees (Ward, 1821, lxxvi; Birch, 1838, 103, 105; Francis, 1908, 154; Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 13-15; Noble, 1976, 118-120).

Although he does not help at any other Badaga ceremonies it used to be considered a wise precaution to invite his attendance at any auspicious ceremony, such as a wedding or naming, and then make him some small gift that might help avert the ever-threatening Kurumba malice. For a Badaga funeral he might also receive a payment (Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86-87), although Kurumba sorcery could not affect such an inauspicious ceremony.

There are certain situations in which Kurumba musicians play at a Badaga wedding or funeral in place of the Kota band (Grigg, 1880, 211). Traditionally it could happen either when a dispute had at least temporarily alienated a Badaga family from their Kota partner or when an epidemic was rampant in the Kota's village. Now, when most Badagas have stopped inviting Kotas to any of their ceremonies, some invite Kurumba musicians instead, while others dispense with the music altogether. If the Kurumba watchman is asked to arrange for a band of musicians his own

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the frequent and cheap bus services, explain in part the proliferation of alien religious practices among Badagas during this century. Among the Wainad Gaudas there has been a comparable influence from Malabar to the west, an effect of heavy immigration from that direction.

Over the past fifty years a variety of memorial ceremonies has been instituted for the anniversaries of individual deaths; previously there had no been no such commemoration. A few corpses or their ashes have been buried at places beyond the village burial grounds, and stones have been raised to mark such spots or memorial statues erected. Here the closer relatives may perform an annual *pu:ja*; or they may do *pu:ja* at home before a photograph of the deceased. Some families invite more distant relatives to the ceremony; others do not but may distribute food to the indigent. Some have the ceremony in the daytime, others at night. Some will go straight to work after the *pu:ja*, others never work on that solemn day. In short, the scale and form of a memorial ceremony vary from family to family, but the general pattern reflects Tamilian influence.

As well as the new death ceremonies, several annual festivals have been adopted from the neighbouring plains people with varying degrees of enthusiasm and support. Over the past forty to sixty years Di:pa:vali, Ka:rttige and Ma:rgaži have come from Tamilnad into many villages (just as the Ma:ri festival did a century ago), and Dassara, long the biggest celebration in Mysore City, has also been adopted; all of them in very attenuated form.[1]

Dipa:vali, the day on which the mythical Ra:ma was crowned after his return from Ceylon, is given very little importance. A minority of Badagas wear new dresses for the occasion but otherwise do not have so much as a *pu:ja* in honour of Ra:ma or Krishna.

Kartige extends over three days in November or December, but only the first day, dedicated to Shiva, assumes any importance. All the houses display lights throughout the night, and the priest does a *pu:ja* at the village temple, attended by most villagers. On the third day, dedicated to Vishnu, very few lights remain burning.

Dassara is also celebrated on a small scale compared with the major Badaga festivals at sowing- and harvest-time. It is universally supposed to last for ten days at the end of September, but only on the evening of the ninth do Badagas hold any celebration, and this a simple *pu:ja* to images or lithographs of gods that are kept in

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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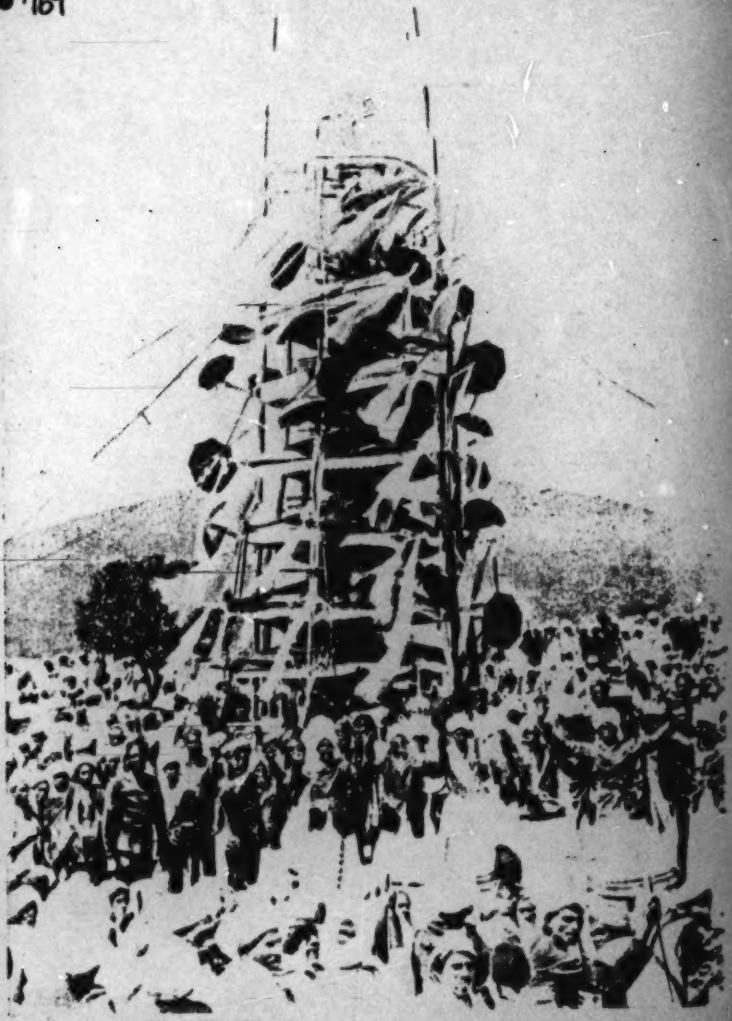

Pl. 13 [Following p. 248-M]

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Pl. 14

[following p. 248-N]

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769 Plates 13 and 14 The *manevale* (memorial ceremony) at Ittala:r in 1905. (Courtesy Basel Mission.)

561 764 Plate 15 A funeral in Hulla:ḍa hamlet, 1963. The widower leads a procession of men, in order of their generation level and absolute age, three times around the corpse, upon which they deposit the grain held in their hands. Unrelated men and women sit on either side of the grassy space.

778 Plate 16 Medieval carved orthostat, now a shrine, at Be:ṯa:ḍa.

In the course of the year almost every village celebrates a dozen or so festivals, the most important of which are concerned with the agricultural cycle: *doḍḍa habba*, the Great Festival, which marks the beginning of the agricultural year in November, and *de:va habba*, the God Festival, which celebrates the harvest in July. Another festival, called *Ma:ri habba*, intended to keep smallpox away, is celebrated in a few villages by fire-walking, when selected men walk unscathed across glowing embers. There are many other lesser ceremonies marking certain transitions in the lives of members of the community. For Badagas the major events of life are the naming of a child, its first haircut, the first milking of a cow, marriage, and death. On rare occasions some villages held a huge memorial ceremony in honour of a whole generation of the dead when its last member had passed away, but the ceremony was last performed in 1936. Yet many customs and celebrations of the Badagas are still observed today, in spite of dramatic changes which have affected other parts of their lives.

They are, for example, still led by a paramount chief whose position is hereditary and who always belongs to the village of Tu:ne:ri. (The latest chief was installed in 1977.) The political power devolves from this paramount chief to the headman of each village. In between them there are many local and regional headmen: several neighbouring villages make up a commune and, taking the name of the leading village, come under the authority of that village's headman. Above these there are also four regional chiefs who each control the villages and communes within their quarter of the Nilgiris.

Each headman has his own traditional council. A commune headman has the local village headmen in his council; a regional headman has the commune chiefs in his; and the paramount chief's council (which rarely meets) is composed of all the Badaga headmen. The judicial authority of all of these councils has been much diminished by the gradual imposition of Indian law and lawcourts. The traditional legal procedure for any dispute begins at the village level and then ascends through the various councils until finally an appeal may be considered by the paramount chief. In the past, headmen could impose severe punishments which ranged from ostracism to hanging, but today all criminal offences come under the authority of lawcourts, and village headmen and councils are left to deal only with minor disputes and ceremonial duties.

The Badagas are divided socially into a number of hierarchical

177 many Badaga Lingayats, however: indeed, this matter has been the subject of a
582 bitter factional dispute within the Lingayat part of the Baḍaga community for several
578 decades. Many Badagas feel that, as people from even the lowest castes can be converted to Vīraśaivism (though they seldom are), there is a danger that the girls from Mysore are really descendants of Untouchables converted to the faith. For Badagas this is no easy pill to swallow.

177 796 3) **Many Tamilian and Kanarese celebrations are being adopted.** An important effect of the greatly improved communications with the plains to the north and east has been the appearance in many Badaga hamlets of non-Badaga religious practices that have undoubtedly been borrowed during the present century.

•769 (177) During the past 30 years, for example, a variety of memorial ceremonies have been instituted by Badagas for the anniversaries of deaths within the family; prior to this time there had been no such memorial ceremonies. Some families now do a puja in the house, before a photograph of the deceased. A few people have been buried -- or their ashes buried -- at places other than the village burial grounds, and stones have been erected to mark such spots: here the near relatives may perform an annual puja. Some families invite the more distant relatives to the annual ceremony; others do not do this, but distribute food to the poor. Some do the ceremony at daytime, others at night. Some will go straight to work after the puja is over, others will not work at all on that day. The scale and form of a memorial ceremony varies from family to family, it would seem.

177 796 It is not only new death ceremonies that have recently been introduced, however. Various annual festivals have been adopted, with varying degrees of enthusiasm and support, by many of the hamlets.